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ABSTRACT

While the implementation of adult literacy promotion can best be handled at the national level, some important things can be done at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) level. A persuasive argument can be made on behalf of adult literacy in the SADCC development strategy. The people need to be educated in the political economy of oppressive systems and be helped to understand how they must think and act to break out of their bondage. Adult literacy provides an excellent opportunity for social mobilization. The teaching of literacy in the SADCC region can include content that will reinforce SADCC vision and policies. (Following this overview of the topic, individual discussions are offered of adult literacy policy and performance in the nine member states of SADCC: Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Angola. These general statements are made: (1) near-universal adult literacy is essential for development of each individual country in the SADCC region; (2) near-universal adult literacy is possible to obtain; (3) without near-universal adult literacy, economic liberation from South Africa will not come; and (4) near-universal adult literacy will bring the common man "inside politics.") (YLB)

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ADULT LITERACY POLICIES AND PERFORMANCE
IN THE SADCC REGION (SOUTHERN AFRICA)

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ADULT LITERACY POLICIES AND PERFORMANCE
IN THE SADCC REGION (SOUTHERN AFRICA)

H.S. Bhola

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), established in 1980, was an economic imperative. Independence had at last come to the nine member-States of SADCC: to Tanzania in 1961; Malawi and Zambia in 1964; Botswana and Lesotho in 1966; Swaziland in 1968; Angola and Mozambique in 1975; and, lastly, to Zimbabwe in 1980. But political independence had not always brought with it economic independence. Economies of many of the SADCC States had remained severely dependent on the Republic of South Africa.

On the other hand, the Republic of South Africa was not about to lose its stranglehold on the economies of the newly independent Black African States; and was ideologically committed to use "the wages of sin" to maintain and reinforce Apartheid², the "collective slavery" of Blacks by the White minority inside South Africa and in South West Africa (Namibia), mandated to South Africa by the League of Nations in 1920.

The SADCC countries had to come together to give their peoples in South Africa the chance to receive the fruits of their labor and to live with dignity and freedom in their own lands. That was the economic imperative.

Economics can not be separated from politics in Southern Africa, or anywhere else in the world, but SADCC has chosen to focus exclusively on an economic agenda: the objective is "economic liberation", while battles against Apartheid continue to be fought on other fronts.

SADCC has chosen to work on four main sectors of economic development: transport and communication, food security, energy, and manpower development. Manpower training seems to have been conceptualized to include only middle and upper level technical, scientific, educational and managerial talent for employment in the formal economy. The equally important part of the SADCC's human resources -- its illiterate and semi-literate farmers, workers, home-makers and school leavers -- seems to be outside SADCC's area of concern.

It could perhaps be argued that SADCC as a regional inter-State organization should be undertaking only those policies, plans and projects that can be best handled at the regional level; and that human resource development involving

farmers, workers and home-maker in rural areas through extension, nonformal education and adult literacy is best left to the individual member States for reasons both of politics and practicality.

However, in taking such a position, an important development opportunity can be missed. While the implementation of extension, nonformal education and adult literacy can best be handled at the national level, and must even be further decentralized and diversified within each country, some important things can be done at the SADCC level.

We will focus in this paper on adult literacy because literacy is today the portal to all education and a concomitant requisite to all effective extension; and because literacy in the SADCC countries -- as in the Third World in general -- will play an inherently radical role by bringing about a "new distribution of educational goods" in these societies and by changing citizens from mere spectators to actual participants in the development process.

By putting adult literacy on its agenda, SADCC will first of all provide a compelling vision, the vision of an all-literate Southern Africa; bring up an opportunity for SADCC member-States to review and renovate their policies of adult literacy promotion for human resource development of the largest group of their citizens, bypassed by formal education; and enable member-States to establish and develop institutions for research, development and training in adult literacy as well as share strategies and methodologies that have worked successfully elsewhere. SADCC could also make regional-level plans to create industrial capacity for the production of paper and for printing of books; establish arrangements for co-publishing of reading materials for use in the post-literacy stages, thereby contributing to a sense of shared destiny in the region; and, most importantly, enable the 50 million Blacks in Southern Africa to be able to talk to the Whites in South Africa "literate to literate."

Indeed, member-States of SADCC are signatories to the Harare Declaration³ that in search of strengthening independence and solidarity in the African region undertook "to eliminate illiteracy through a vigorous, sustained two-pronged campaign to universalize primary schooling for children and to promote literacy among young people and adults on a massive scale." If adult literacy promotion in the Southern African region is placed on the SADCC agenda, the initiative will move to the African States where it should belong; and the already established SADCC secretariat in Gaborone will be better able to implement the intent of the Harare Declaration.

To fulfil the promise of literacy in the future development of the SADCC region, we must know what role, if

any, has been assigned to literacy in the development of the SADCC region today. What are the separate policies of SADCC countries on adult literacy; and, where adult literacy policies exist, what has been their performance?

SADCC in the Historical Context

The underdevelopment of the SADCC countries, and of the Black people inside South Africa and in Namibia, is deeply rooted in the history of Africa and particularly of Southern Africa. European explorations in this region began as early as 1415. The "Scramble for Africa" that began with the Berlin Conference of 1885, presided over by Chancellor Bismarck, brought many more European traders and settlers to Southern Africa.

It is not within the scope of this paper to fully record the sordid history of the enslavement and exploitation of the Black peoples by the Whites. Suffice it to say that as the process of decolonization began in the region in the 1960s, the English were in control of seven of the nine SADCC countries: what are today Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The Portuguese were entrenched in Angola and Mozambique. And in South Africa, the descendants of the Dutch and of the English had established the Apartheid regime: based on the assumption of racial inferiority of the Black people; institutionalized through unjust economic relationships between the Blacks and the Whites and maintained by police force. The system of Apartheid had also been extended to Namibia, colonized by the Germans in 1884, and mandated to the League of Nations in 1920.

True to the logic of colonialism, the relationships between the governors and the governed in the whole of SADCC region has been shamelessly exploitative, and inside South Africa and Namibia brutal and, truly, a crime against humanity. Some of the material and institutional structures established in these countries by the colonizers may appear, at first sight, as signs of "development" brought to these countries by the progressive West. However, these structures and infrastructures of modernization have come, not from the humanity and goodwill of the colonizers, but through the dialectic between contradictions: the colonizer's need to build material infrastructures, to be able to exploit the land and to extract from the mines; and, again, their need to build minimal structures of education, to prepare the local Black populations to cooperate in their own enslavement through employment in the colonizer's structures of law and order. Inside South Africa, the exploitation and enslavement of the Black people is even more flagrant, and the contradictions of the system even more acute.

Unfortunately for the States of the SADCC region, the influence and control of South Africa is not confined within its political borders and to Namibia -- the territory illegally held by South Africa. Over the years, and with the active connivance of the colonizers in the region, South Africa has been able to establish an economic system that has put all Black African States in a relationship of dependency on South Africa. This dependency is so severe that South Africa is able to bend the policies of many of the States in the region to its will.

SADCC's Objectives and Strategy

It was in such a historical and political context that SADCC was formally established in 1980 and adopted The Lusaka Declaration: South Africa -- Towards Economic Liberation.

Four major goals were set out in this SADCC statement:

1. reduction of external dependence, especially dependence on the Republic of South Africa;
2. creation of operational and equitable regional integration;
3. mobilization of domestic and regional resources to carry out national, interstate and regional policies to reduce dependence and build genuine regional co-ordination; <and>
4. joint action to secure international understanding of, and practical support for, the SADCC strategy.

This same basic statement of aims, programs and operations is at pains to point out that SADCC is an economic and not a political organization. SADCC does not, of course, condone Apartheid in South Africa, but toppling the Apartheid regime in South Africa is not among its objectives. The goal is economic liberation, freedom from "the warped, dependent subordination... made infinitely more severe by the nature of the South African State ... premised on the denial of the common humanity of all people and ... entrenched <in> inequality of opportunity in the economic as well as the political sphere." It is also understood that the process of disengagement will not be a matter of months or of few years; it will be a long drawn process.

The strategy is born from economic necessity. Most of SADCC members have small populations ranging from 1 million to 20 million; and small economies with Gross Domestic Product ranging from US\$ 500 million to US\$ 4,000 million. Together, however, they add up to 50 million people and annual production of US\$15,000 million. Only by standing together, do the SADCC countries have a chance to stand up to the economic giant, the Republic of South Africa, that has an annual Gross Domestic Product of US\$ 93,000 million for a population of about 34.9 million.

Six of the SADCC member-States are landlocked. Understandably, transport and communication have been the most critical sectors for coordination and cooperation. Other key sectors for cooperation are agriculture for food security; energy for industrialization and mining; and research and manpower development in support of all these sectors.

The operationalization of coordinating and conferring is done at Summit meetings of Heads of States and specialized meetings of Cabinet Ministers in charge of various development sectors. Each State has been assigned the responsibility for leadership for one particular sector, while the SADCC secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana coordinates the whole array of SADCC initiatives.

SADCC strategy emphasises material infrastructures and institution building. The States individually and together seek to develop infrastructures of communication, transport, industrial production, and mining and energy. They also seek to develop institutions for research and development and manpower training and professional networks to get the various jobs done. Policy makers, planners and institution builders are the main actors.

Understandably, the training and manpower development category in the SADCC list of tasks is concerned mainly with higher and intermediate level manpower in mining, health, teacher training and management development. The development of human resources residing in farmers, workers and home-makers through extension, nonformal education and adult literacy has not been considered.

Once, again, as pointed out before, an argument can be made in behalf of SADCC not being interested in human resource development at that level. It could be said that SADCC is not interested in plans and projects that are national in purpose and country-specific in design and delivery, and can be handled by member-States individually on their own; and that adult literacy is not included because it can be handled best by each individual country on its own. It could also be suggested that interstate and regional initiatives and plans in adult literacy in the region have indeed already been taken through the Harare Declaration referred to before. All these issues merit attention.

The Role of Adult Literacy in the Implementation of the SADCC Strategy

A persuasive argument can be made in behalf of adult literacy in the SADCC development strategy.

To begin with, the point can be made that "economic liberation" can not be brought to the SADCC region by

Presidents, their ministers, and secretaries acting alone, while the people are merely looking on, as spectators to their own history. For regional development in the SADCC region, as well as for development in each nation, the people must understand and internalize the SADCC vision. They must understand the purposes set by their leaders, and the plans devised by their institutions, both national and regional. They must become participants and develop a vested interest in their own "economic liberation".

We seem to forget that systems of oppression (such as the Apartheid system in South Africa and Namibia) are upheld by people who know "how the world works", who come to have vested interests in such oppressive systems, and who participate fully in the perpetuation of the oppression from which they profit. They know how their words and deeds, their individual decisions and actions might strengthen or weaken the system. They are "educated", though their use of education is immoral.

On the other hand, the populations of the countries of the SADCC region, for lack of understanding, may be sabotaging their own leaders by action and inaction, and thereby perpetuating their own predicaments. They need to be educated in the political economy of oppressive systems. This is not to say that the farmers, workers and home-makers in the SADCC region should be lectured on political theory and development strategies, but that they must be helped to understand the concrete manifestations of their economic dependencies and how they must think and act to break out of their bondage. There is need, therefore, for a bold educational agenda both at the national and the regional levels.

Development is a calculus of ideology and technology. Development is never merely a task of engineering infrastructures or only of building institutions. The complementary task of human resource development must be accomplished. Without human resource development, infrastructures are underutilized and can not be properly maintained; and institutions remain empty shells unable to produce the services that people need.

There are two important points worth making in regard to human resource development. First that human resource development is more than manpower training focussed on upper and middle level specialists in the formal sectors of the economy. It is more than training university graduates in science, technology, law, accounting and education. Human resource development must cover the lower rungs of the formal sectors of the economy as well -- the para-professional and the semi-skilled. Most importantly, human resource development must cover the informal sector of the economy and the subsistence sector of the economy in which the largest proportions of Third World populations live.

Second, this human resource development should be accomplished through nonformal education with literacy. Of course, some knowledge, attitudes and performance skills can be taught through nonprint media; and most of these can be taught in face-to-face situations. However, the nonprint media can not carry the total communication burden; and there are severe limitations of both logistics and message making in face-to-face situations. Literacy alone can make farmers and workers independent consumers and processors of information; and break their dependence on the voices over the radio or the visits of the extension worker that are few and far between. Thus, literacy is indeed the portal to all education and a concomitant requisite for all effective extension in the Third World.

This is not the place to present a more detailed brief in behalf of adult literacy. Suffice it to say that the universalization of literacy is historically inevitable; and what we as planners need to do, is to make the inevitable immediate. Indeed, literacy is part of the logic of culture; and is needed both for democratization and modernization within political systems varying from the capitalist to the marxist, and everything mid between.

Adult literacy promotion provides an excellent opportunity for social mobilization and organization at the field level and this organization can be used for diverse social and political ends. Finally, adult literacy is inherently radical insofar as it addresses itself to people often neglected by educational systems, and brings them educational resources which would have normally gone elsewhere. It is also radical in the sense that it gives its beneficiaries a tool that enables them to codify information about their own realities, and decodify relevant information available in the environment.

People do not just read; they read something. The teaching of literacy in the SADCC region can include content that will reinforce SADCC vision and policies. Literacy can thereby contribute to solidarity in the region.

A point should also be made here in favor of nation-wide adult literacy campaigns¹⁰. Campaigns, we suggest, offer the only strategy commensurate with the size and scope of the problem that currently exists in the region; and can bring out commitments and resources both from governments and people. It is sometimes suggested that mass campaigns can promote centralization; and opportunities for the promotion of state ideologies. But one need not assume that state is always anti-people; the state does have an important role to play in development in the Third World countries. Again, "democratic centralism" is a real possibility. A nation-wide literacy

campaign could indeed draw from liberal ideological sources; and could indeed be "a campaign of many campaigns"-- small local campaigns orchestrated into a national campaign.

In the SADCC context, it could be said by way of a rebuttal that while all this makes sense, this is not an initiative that SADCC should take. It should be left to each individual country to plan and implement national literacy campaigns. It could also be said that a regional initiative has indeed already been taken by Unesco at its Twenty-second General Conference¹¹.

We suggest that Unesco's African initiative yet leaves room for a regional initiative in the Southern region. And that the nine member states of SADCC do need to do something in the area of adult literacy together, if they are in the fight for "economic liberation" together.

Tanzania: Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Tanzania's search for universal literacy should be both a lesson¹² and an inspiration to other member states in the SADCC region.

Tanganyika became independent from the British in 1961, and joined with Zanzibar and Pemba islands in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The development ideology of Tanzania found a clear expression in the Arusha Declaration of 1967¹³ adopted by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), now merged into Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The country was to work for socialism and self-reliance. The emphasis was to be on rural areas where 90 per cent of the Tanzanian people lived. At the national level, it would mean creating a non-dependent political economy. At the community level, it would mean creating self-governing village communities in the spirit of Ujamaa (Swahili for Familyhood).

President Julius K. Nyerere understood the role of adult education in this process of social transformation as he declared: "First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten, or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adults ... on the other hand, have an impact now. The people must understand the plans for development of this country; they must be able to participate in changes which are necessary. Only if¹⁴ they are willing and able to do this will this plan succeed."

Nyerere may be the only Head of State in the African region to have understood the radical role of adult education that early in the post-colonial history. He soon realized that adult education had to include adult literacy -- adult education without literacy will not do. The Adult Education

Year, declared by President Nyerere in 1970, taught the lesson that literacy was "the key to further progress" and that illiterates "will never be able to play their full part in the development of <their> country."

In September 1971, TANU had passed a resolution for the total eradication of illiteracy from among all the 5,200,000 illiterates above the age of 10, using the functional literacy approach¹⁵. The schedule was not kept, but the promise was, more or less, as the following figures should show:

Year	Percentages of Illiteracy
1967	67
1975	39
1977	27
1981	20

Some critics of Tanzania's development strategy suggest that Tanzania may have succeeded in its literacy campaign; but, at the same time, it seems to have failed both economically and politically -- both in modernization and democratization. They point to Tanzania's inability to feed its own people and to the fact that the Tanzanian peasant has disengaged from the official economy and has retreated back into the subsistence economy. In the formal sector of the economy, the critics suggest, workers may have learned their rights, without learning their obligations, with dire consequences for national productivity.

At the political level, there may have been politicization without democratization, bringing to the people fear of the agents of the state rather than personal freedoms. There are stories told of how, in some areas, ordinary farmers working on cooperative farms, see the farm managers appointed by the Party as their landlords¹⁷.

There is a grain of truth in the critique just presented. But that is certainly not the whole truth. Nyerere may have been somewhat doctrinaire; and his own managers and common citizens may not always have been enthused about socialism and self-reliance. The Party machine may indeed have ordered more and served less. But, unfortunately, what man proposed, God disposed, as severe drought came to Tanzania and stayed for years. And the world system was not always kind or congenial to Tanzania.

What the Tanzanian case tells us about literacy is that literacy by itself does not build bridges, construct hospitals and make it rain to end the drought. It is a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition, for development in the various sectors. Literacy in Tanzania could not have wished the drought away, but it may indeed have helped farmers cope with the drought more effectively.

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More importantly, while literacy did not change the economic realities which, as we have suggested, were determined by the draught and the international climate for technical assistance, it may have contributed considerably to the social development of Tanzania. According to an official evaluation, the new literates in Tanzania are known to have "changed their ways of thinking, feeling and envisioning." They seem to have "lost marginality, alienation and fear" and have become "self-confident and assertive."

But the most telling statistic may be the infant mortality rate which has been offered by UNICEF as the best indicator of social realities in a country -- better than the previously quoted Gross National Product¹⁸. Infant mortality rate, the number of children who die per 1,000 of live births within their first year of life, declines only if the standard of living of the majority has reached a certain level. Unlike the GNP, it does not hide wide income differences among various population groups. According to the ranking developed by UNICEF based on infant mortality rates, Tanzania advances by at least 30 slots in comparison to its World Bank ranking based on the GNP. Literacy may have won a great victory on the social front, if not yet on the economic front.

Zambia:

Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Zambia became independent from British tutelage in 1964¹⁹ and once, again, has seen stability under President Kenneth K. Kaunda who has sought to bring to the people his special brand of African socialism, under the banner of Humanism.

During the early years of Independence, Zambia seemed to be full of promise. It was relatively better off than its neighbors, and a 1969 census claimed 50 per cent literacy among the population. Its mineral wealth, and especially its copper, was to be the engine of the country's development. The dream evaporated as prices for copper tumbled down in the world market in the 1970s.

Humanism has not been able to serve as a clear-cut ideology that could be used to create a particular kind of political culture or an economy with a particular direction. On the other hand, tribal rivalries have not allowed a solution to the language problem. English is not only the official language but also the language of instruction in formal education from grade I to the university. Out of school, adult literacy is taught in seven languages.

Some kind of support can always be found in official development documents of the country. An adult literacy program was included in the very First National Development Plan of

1966-77; and a basic literacy program had indeed been started as early as 1965. A functional literacy pilot project was started in 1971 under Unesco initiative. Both these programs have continued to operate, but at a very low level of operation. In 1980, the population was estimated at 5.6 million and the rate of illiteracy was claimed to be between 25 to 35 per cent in the adult population of 15 years and over.

The job of eradicating illiteracy must be being achieved through formal education since literacy programs especially addressed to adults have a very small coverage. In 1980, for example, there were as few as 318 literacy centers teaching 5,455 adults nation-wide, a mere one per cent of the total number of adult illiterates. The hope of launching a national mass adult literacy campaign through the Zambian Literacy Foundation also seems to have faded for the time being.

Malawi:

Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Malawi became independent in 1964²⁰-- the same year as Zambia, its neighbour to the North-West.

Under the leadership of its Life President Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, Malawi's political discourse is conducted in the language of food and health, rather than in the language of socialism and humanism. The President demands "Unity, Loyalty, Obedience and Discipline."

The Malawi Congress Party that has led the country ever since its Independence, in its manifesto of 1961, had promised an extensive program to wipe out illiteracy from the country. The manifesto did not, however, manifest itself into reality. During the years 1968-78, for which data are available, no more than 12,268 adults may have been made literate. The current UNDP/Unesco Functional Literacy Pilot Project (1981-1985) while it has been most successful in establishing organization for planning and delivery of programs has covered no more than 20,000 learners out of a cohort of 2.5 million eligible for the program.

Malawi is a country often praised for its economic management and for the fact that it never had had to import food to feed its people. It has been able to do this while illiteracy percentages have remained at the level of 70 per cent or more.

Once again, the conclusion need not be drawn that literacy does not matter one way or the other. Because literate Tanzania could not feed its people and illiterate Malawi did not have to import food, literacy must not be a factor in development. That would not necessarily be the right conclusion. Malawi has been fortunate in that the drought in

that part of the world was never as severe as in many other parts of Southern Africa. On the other hand, Malawi has had the dubious distinction of being a country with one of the highest rates of infant mortality. (See our earlier discussion of the infant mortality rate being a better indicator of social development in a country.)

Botswana: Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Botswana (formerly the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland) became independent on September 30, 1966. During the first decade of its Independence, Botswana seems to have followed the dominant development paradigm of the time, that is, it emphasised manpower development and investments in higher productivity²¹. The report of the National Commission of Education in 1977 recommended a shift of policy from an emphasis on secondary and higher education to the universalization of elementary education and, more significantly, to nonformal education of adults.

The task in the area of nonformal education was truly challenging. It consisted in teaching Botswana's subsistence farmers, nomadic cattlemen, and housewives new economic, social and political skills that would enable them to participate in their own personal development and in the development of their country. It was soon realized that nonformal education had to include adult literacy which had to become the basic tool of communication and development in Botswana. The establishment of a radio network to cover the whole country would take both time and resources. Providing an extension network for face-to-face communication with farmers and workers all over the country was also in the distant future. Adult literacy was the best available alternative.

Two pilot projects were undertaken during 1978 and 1979 by way of preparations for the National Literacy Program which was launched in June 1981. The Botswana National Literacy Program promised to eradicate illiteracy by the year 1986 by teaching all of its 250,000 to 300,000 illiterates to read and write.

This was by no means an easy task. While the absolute number of illiterates in the country was small, the illiterates still constituted 35 per cent of the population. And the approximately one million people of Botswana were spread in a large area, roughly the size of France, two-thirds of which is covered by the great Kalahari desert -- one of the most inhospitable environments for human habitation.

Botswana has been able to design a meaningful program for its adult learners; has produced a variety of instructional materials; and established an impressive system for the

delivery of services manned by twelve or more District Adult Education Officers, 120 Literacy Assistants in charge of village clusters and 2,400 Literacy Group Leaders spread all over the wide expanses of the country.

In 1983, 18,160 adult learners were enrolled. An internal evaluation of the program was conducted in 1983. The evaluation exercise also became an exercise for mobilization of adult learners and enrolments went up to 28,000. In all 20,000 adult learners may have gone through the program already.

Botswana has learned a lot from its National Literacy Program. First, it has been reinforced in its conviction of the need for an adult literacy program: the Bushman in the Kalahari desert; and youth and older adults at the cattle posts; and women, many of them fending for themselves, in the villages, all can make their lives better with literacy. Print communication may be the only way to stay in constant touch with these people. While there is wide-spread general support for the literacy program within the development policy and planning structures, the need for more articulated political support at the highest level remains.

Other lessons are technical. There is the need to be more realistic about targets. More training inputs need to be made in the field workers closer to the ground. Workers at all levels need to become process conscious and spend much more time with adult learners in their communities. To enable them to do so, they have to be provided with means of transportation -- not an easy task in the great Kalahari desert.

Finally, the lesson may have been learnt that while adult literacy may not be able to make the draught go away, it may yet prepare people to cope with it better.

Lesotho: Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Lesotho, another of the British Protectorates in the Southern African region, became independent in 1966. A small mountaineous country, it has sometimes been called "the Switzerland of Africa" and on other times "the kingdom in the sky". The down-to-earth realities are, however, not as colorful. The country is completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa -- a fact that makes Lesotho heavily dependent on its neighbor of all sides.

Traditionally, almost half of the working population has sought employment in the mines and farms of South Africa. The First Five-Year Development Plan, 1970/71 - 1974/75 (Central Planning Office, Maseru, 1970) pointed out that as many as 45 percent of those in paid employment were working in South Africa, and that paid employment in Lesotho was as low as 7 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the work force was employed in

agriculture. Because, such a large number of Lesotho men have to be away from home to work in South Africa, Lesotho men have been described as being "men of two worlds." It should be noted that adult literacy among both men and women could build a bridge between these two world, broken asunder by the political and economic realities of the region. Since so many men are so often away, women play an important part in the Lesotho economy. Goat-herding has been described as a national obsession among the Basotho.

Lesotho claims one of the highest literacy rates in Africa. As many as 50 per cent of the population of 1.1 million in 1975 was claimed to be literate. Lesotho also claims to have an elementary school within walking distance of every child in the country. Most school-age children may be able to begin school, but dropout rates are high. A mere 16 per cent of each annual entry completed the primary education course according to a 1973 report.

Development plans and documents issued by the Government of Lesotho do accept the role of adult literacy in the development of the country. However, there is no nation-wide literacy program on the ground. The pilot project on adult literacy run by the Center for Distance Teaching is by no means commensurate with existing needs.

Swaziland:

Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Swaziland, another tiny Kingdom in Southern Africa, was also a British Protectorate until it became independent in 1968. Swaziland shares its borders with the Republic of South Africa on the one hand and with Marxist Mozambique on the other. Once again, this tiny kingdom of over half a million people is severely dependent upon its neighbor of three sides -- South Africa. Many Swazis go to South Africa to work; and those who remain subsist on agriculture²³.

Swazi Government's Second National Development Plan, 1973-77 gave priority to higher education to meet the nation's manpower needs, and talked of moving, later, towards universal primary education by 1985. In the meantime, some adult literacy work has been undertaken through nongovernmental initiatives.

The Sebenta National Institute of Swaziland has been working in the field of adult literacy and community development for some time. Statistics drawn from the 1976 census indicate that 70 per cent of the adult population of Swaziland was illiterate. As the 1980s began, Sebenta had commenced on an adult literacy program designed to make some 100,000 adults literate in Siswati over a period of five to seven years. That would mean organizing some 750 to 800 literacy classes of 20 learners each, every year.

Zimbabwe:
Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia until 1980), has had a checkered history. Founded in the 1890s, it became a self-governing British territory, in 1923. In 1965, when the British wanted to hand over power to the local people, Ian Smith came out with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from the United Kingdom, resolving to establish a white minority rule in the country and to stay for ever. Independence was won by the Black majority in 1980, after a protracted armed struggle.

This large country (150,333 square miles in area) and a fertile land is lived by two large tribes: Mashona in the Eastern half of the country and Matabele in the West.

During the colonial period, 70 per cent of the Black children entered school, but of the 100 only 33 completed elementary school. In September 1980, elementary education was declared free for all and by 1982, universal elementary education was actually achieved by the newly independent government of Zimbabwe. Attention was then given to adult literacy.

Population estimates for 1983 were 9 million, of which about half were estimated to be above 15 years of age. Between 40 to 45 per cent of those 15 years and above were estimated to be illiterate or semi-literate, some 2.5 million in all.

On July 16, 1983, Prime Minister Mugabe launched a National Adult Literacy Campaign asking for Literacy for All in five year. He told the people that the literacy campaign was indeed an aspect of the revolution for socialist and egalitarian society²⁴. Literacy, he pointed out, was for "the full emancipation of the entirety of our nation"; literacy was "to set the mind free" and surely "the mind is not free if it is illiterate and innumerate."

Zimbabwe seems to have done an excellent job of planning and implementing its adult literacy campaign. Help was received from revolutionary Ethiopia and from nextdoor Tanzania in the effective planning of the campaign. The use of ex-combatants as District Literacy Coordinators (DLC's) reinforced the link between the literacy campaign and the revolution still in the making.

Actual teaching of literacy is done by volunteers who are paid a very small honorarium. There are plans afoot to mobilize secondary school students. By December 31, 1983, the latest year for which figures are available to this writer, 4,895 tutors were conducting 5,937 learner groups covering some

232,352 participants. Progress would have been much more impressive but for the drought and the civil war in the South.

Mozambique:
Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

The Portuguese came to Mozambique as early as 1505; and, in 1951, made it an overseas Province of Portugal. Up until 1964, when FRELIMO (Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique / Mozambique Liberation Front) started an armed struggle, the rate of illiteracy was as high as 98 per cent, perhaps the highest of all colonies at that time. (Interestingly, back in Portugal, the illiteracy rate was as high as 40 per cent, the highest in Europe.) Two per cent of the Black population had access to elementary education which taught them to write their name and to read the Bible²⁵.

Freedom came to Mozambique in 1975, after ten years of armed struggle. Education was to be compatible with the new order and was to be the tool of development. President Samora Machel was to use education to stabilize the political order in his nation of 11.5 million (according to 1980 estimates); and to use it to bring about a new mentality aimed at securing the success of the socialistic experiment.

Plans were made for seven years of free and compulsory primary education; and adult literacy was to be used to fight obscurantism and to socialize the people in the countryside to enable them to participate in their own development.

The civil war has, however, upset all plans. The Mozambique National Resistance, a guerrilla force backed by South Africa has been bleeding the Marxist government. The Accord of Nkomati signed between Mozambique and South Africa on March 16, 1984 may give the Machel government a breathing space in which educational and developmental initiatives may be renewed.

Angola:
Adult Literacy Policy and Performance

Angola, another of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, became independent in 1975, the same year that independence came to Mozambique. The Portuguese, who colonized Angola in 1575 and established complete control in the territory in 1910, had meant to stay in perpetuity, to work on their large agricultural estates and on their diamond mines and oil fields.

The winds of freedom that blew all over Africa inspired the Angolan patriots as well. There was a rebellion against the Portuguese in 1961 who responded by successfully fragmenting the freedom movement. At independence in 1975, Angola was left in the chaos of a "tripartite civil war" fought by Movimento

Popular de Libertacao de Angola / Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) under Dr. Agostinho Neto; Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola / National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) under Roberto; and Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola / National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) under Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.

To develop a complete picture of the use of literacy by the warring factions for their immediate use in combat and concurrently for the development of their peoples, one will have to reflect the policy and practices of all parties active in Angola. Such information is not easily available.

The Marxist government of MPLA that is in control in Luanda, has been well aware of the role of literacy in the overall political struggle being waged in Angola. The Organization of Angola Women (OMA) in their third quarterly newsletter of 1973 wrote: "When the MPLA launched armed struggle thirteen years ago, it also embarked on the arduous and vital task of wiping out illiteracy inherited from five centuries of colonialism....MPLA sought to draw up study programs, and launch large-scale literacy campaigns.... We have been able to make considerable progress, qualitatively, both in fighting illiteracy and in creating true revolutionary consciousness²⁶"

The eradication of illiteracy is a policy now enshrined in the Constitutional Law of the People's Republic of Angola (Tricontinental, X, 1975). Article 13 of the Constitutional Law states: "The RPA (The People's Republic of Angola) energetically fights illiteracy and ignorance and promotes the development of education at the service of the people and of a true national culture...."

The task of eradication of illiteracy is not going to be easy in a country where illiteracy was 99 per cent in 1950; 97 per cent in 1958; and 90 per cent in 1974; and where in 1968 only 30 per cent of the children between the ages of 6-14 were able to attend school. In the meantime, the Organization for Angolan Women seems to be the organ speaking in behalf of literacy and perhaps responsible for it.

A Synoptic Look and Some Concluding Remarks

Exigencies of space do not permit a detailed discussion of adult literacy policy and performance in the South African Republic within the scope of the present paper. For the same reason, it is not possible to include in this paper any remarks on the use of literacy by the African National Congress (ANC) or by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in their liberation struggles within South Africa or inside Namibia. We will only add here the remark that the Apartheid

regime in South Africa has tried to make oppressive uses of literacy. It has been forced to teach literacy because it must professionalize the Black labor to serve the economic interests of the ruling classes, but it seeks to teach literacy without freeing the Black man from political bondage. In other words, the South African regime seeks to castrate literacy by controlling who is taught, what, and by whom. This is a contradiction that history must resolve, ultimately, in favor of the Black laboring classes.

The Table below presents a synoptic look at the development profiles of the countries in the SADCC region:

Table 1

Country	Year of Independence	Population in mid-1982 (millions)	Area in thousands of square kilometers	GNP per capita in 1982 US Dollars
Angola	1975	8.0	1,247	---
Botswana	1966	---	---	---
Lesotho	1966	1.4	30	510
Malawi	1964	6.5	118	210
Mozambique	1975	12.9	802	---
Swaziland	1968	---	---	---
Tanzania	1961	19.8	945	280
Zambia	1964	6.0	753	640
Zimbabwe	1980	7.5	391	850
Namibia	--	---	---	---
South Africa		30.4	1,221	2,670

Note: 1 All figures in the table, except for those indicated below, have come from World Development Report 1984, prepared by the World Bank, and published by the Oxford University Press, New York, 1984.

Table 1 (Continued)

Country	Life Expectancy at birth in year 1982	Number enrolled in primary school as percentage of age group in 1981	Percentages of Illiterates
Angola	43	---	---
Botswana	--	---	59.0 (15+; 1971)
Lesotho	53	104	41.4 (15+; 1966)
Malawi	44	62	77.9 (15+; 1966)
Mozambique	51	90	66.8 (15+; 1980)

Swaziland	--	---	44.8 (15+;1976)
Tanzania	52	102	26.5 (10+;1978)
Zambia	51	96	52.7 (15+; 1969)
Zimbabwe	56	126	31.2 (15+;1980)
Namibia	--	---	61.6 (15+;1960)
South Africa	63	---	43.0 (15+;1960)

Note 2: Figures on illiteracy have been reported from Unesco Statistical Yearbook, 1982. All other figures are from the World Bank Development Report, 1984, referred to in Note 1 above.

The tables above, read with the earlier discussion of the history and the political economy of the region and of adult literacy policies and performance of individual countries, allow us to make the following general statements: (i) near-universal adult literacy is essential for the development of each individual country in the SADCC region; (ii) near-universal adult literacy is possible to obtain in all the countries of the SADCC region; (iii) without near-universal adult literacy in the SADCC region, economic liberation from South Africa will not come; and (iv) near-universal adult literacy alone will bring the common man "inside politics" and enable him to make the contributions and sacrifices necessary to bring freedom to Southern Africa.

Footnotes

1. A Republic is a State in which the sovereignty resides in the people, or a certain portion of the people, and the legislative and administrative powers are lodged in officers elected by and representing the people. In the Republic of South Africa, the sovereignty resides only in the White minority, and the Black majority of people are denied any representation in the government.

2. Apartheid (Afrikaans for apartness) is racial segregation and discrimination against nonwhites in the Republic of South Africa, supported by law as an instrument of government policy.

3. The Harare Declaration was adopted by the Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in African Member States, organized by Unesco with the co-operation of the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was held in Harare, Zimbabwe during June 28 - July 3, 1982.

4. A Declaration made by the Governments of Independent States of Southern Africa made at Lusaka on the 1st of April, 1980. The context and the content of the Declaration is

included in a SADCC publication, Overview, issued by the SADCC Secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana, 1982(")

5. See Arne Tostensen's Dependence and Collective Self-Reliance in Southern Africa: The Case of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), Research Report No. 62. Uppsala: Scandinavia Institute of African Studies, 1982.

6. Overview, Op. Cit.

7. Overview, Ibid.

8. See Declaration of Harare at No. 3 above.

9. This has been done by the author in his book, Campaigning for Literacy, Paris: Unesco, 1984; and in a paper, "A Policy Analysis of Adult Literacy Promotion in the Third World: An Accounting of Promises Made and Promises Fulfilled," to be published in a forthcoming issue of the International Review of Education.

10. Our position in regard to the possibilities of mass campaigns has also been detailed elsewhere. See references included in No. 9 above.

11. Regional Programme for the Eradication of Illiteracy in Africa: Proposals by the Director-General. Item 11 of the provisional agenda for the General Conference Twenty-second Session, Paris 1983. 22 C/106, 19 October 1983.

12. The description is based on H.S. Bhola, Campaigning for Literacy, Chapter 10; and H.S. Bhola, et. al. The Promise of Literacy. Baden-Baden, Federal Republic of Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1982.

13. The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, Dar-es-Salaam: National Printing Company, 1966.

14. President Julius K. Nyerere as he introduced the First Five-Year Development Plan (1964-69) to the Parliament.

15. The Tanzanian literacy campaign was built upon Unesco's concept of functional literacy, according to which literacy must be taught to learners as fully integrated with the teaching of economic and political skills. Twelve different sets of functional literacy materials were produced to meet the differentiated needs of farmers, workers and housewives in different regions of the country. Thus, the mass approach of a national campaign was combined with the selective approach of meeting the very special needs of groups and communities in different parts of the country.

16. A paper, entitled, "Tanzanian Socialism in Transition: Agricultural Crisis and Policy Reform," by John W. Harbeson and published by the University Field Staff International (UFSI), 1983 / No. 30. .

17. Daudi T. Kinshaga, "Rural Graduates' Perspectives of the Post-Functional Literacy Curriculum in Tanzania." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

18. Based on an information note by Eva-Maria Regenhardt-Deim, "Infant Mortality as a Measuring Unit for Development," Development and Cooperation, No. 6/1984, page 34.

19. Based on The Promise of Literacy and other sundry materials in the Ephemera collection of Indiana University Libraries.

20. Adapted from H.S. Bhola, "Adult Literacy Policy and Performance in Malawi: An Analysis," a paper presented to the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, USA, January 14, 1985.

21. Based on H.S. Bhola, "Building a Built-in Evaluation System: A Case in Point," a paper presented to The 1984 Joint Meeting of Evaluation Research Society and Evaluation Network, held in San Francisco, California, October 11-13, 1984; and H.S. Bhola, "Report Card on a National Literacy Program: The Case of Botswana," a paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, held at Stanford University, Stanford, California, April 16-20, 1985.

22. Developed from Economic Conditions in Lesotho. Maseru: Barclay Bank, 1973.

23. Developed from An Economic Survey and Businessman's Guide. Maseru: Barclay Bank, 1981.

24. From personal notes made during a visit to Zimbabwe in March 1983.

25. See Carlos A. Fumo, "Accelerated Training Centers for Workers in the People's Republic of Mozambique," Convergence, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1984.

26. Both the MPLA and OMA have had their headquarters in exile in Dar-es-Salaam during the early seventies. Tanzania's initiative in the area of adult literacy and experience in conducting the campaign may have something to do with the MPLA's and OMA's interest in adult literacy.